

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 031315Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1615

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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 1367

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJ: AFGHAN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S MESSAGE

REF: A) MADRID 1393; B) STATE 46583

1. MOHAMMAD NAIM, BROTHER OF PRESIDENT DAOUD AND REPUTED MAIN FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR OF PRESIDENT, ASKED ME TO COME TO FOREIGN OFFICE MARCH 3 TO DISCUSS SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT DAOUD.

2. NAIM SAID THAT PRESIDENT DAOUD WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE SECRETARY'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN/PAKISTAN RELATIONS. HE PARTICULARLY APPRECIATES THE SPIRIT REPRESENTED BY THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE SHOWING U.S. INTEREST IN HELPING TWO FRIENDS IMPROVE A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS SITUATION. HOWEVER, NAIM SAID, PRESIDENT DAOUD WAS SURPRISED AT THE SUBSTANCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MESSAGE SINCE MR. NAIM HAD GIVEN THE PRESIDENT A DIFFERENT ACCOUNT OF HIS TALKS WITH SENATOR PERCY.

3. MR. NAIM SAID HE WAS SORRY IF HIS POOR ENGLISH OR HEARING PROBLEM

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(NAIM HAS GREAT DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING

CONVERSATIONS EVEN IN A QUIET ROOM) CAUSED SOME MIS-
UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN HIMSELF AND SENATOR PERCY. NAIM
SAID THAT HE HAD GIVEN SENATOR PERCY THE BASES FOR AFGHAN
POLICY TOWARD PAKISTAN. NAIM SAID THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED
HIM TO REITERATES HOSE TO SECRETARY KISSINGER. THEY ARE:
-- THERE IS NO ILL FEELING BY THE GOVERNMENT OF
AFGHANISTAN(GOA) TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN (GOP).
-- AFGHANISTAN DOES NOT WANT A WEAK OR DIVIDED PAKISTAN.
-- AFGHANISTAN HAS NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST
PAKISTAN.

4. NAIM SAYS HE TOLD SENATOR PERCY, AND HE AND PRESIDENT
WISH TO BE SURE SECRETARY UNDERSTAF S, THAT AFGHAN VIEW OF
PRESENT SITUATION IS THAT JUST AS MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS
WERE ABOUT TO BEGIN BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAISTAN, THE
GOP USED THE PRETEXT OF AN UNFORTUNATE KILLING TO TAKE
PROVOCATIVE ACTION WHICH HAS POISONED THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN
THE TWO COUNTRIES. MR. NAIM SAID HE AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE
THE IMPRESSION THAT WHAT IS GOING ON IN PAKISTAN NOW IS
AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH ONE ETHNIC GROUP IN THE COUNTRY
IN A POSITION OF SUPREMACY.

5. NAIM THEN MADE EXTREMELY EMOTIONAL DISGRESSION SAYING
THAT LONG-TERM BENEFIT OF BOTH AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN
DEPENDEON DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD RELATIONS. NAIM SAID THE
PROGPAGANDA MACHINE OF THE GOP WAS SHOWERING AFGHANISTAN
WITH PERSONAL INSULTS (HE REFERED TO A BROADCAST FROM
PESHAWAR TODAY IN WHICH PRESIDENT DAOUD WAS DESCRIBED AS
"INSANE"). NAIM SAID HE HAD A CHANCE TO DESCRIBE THE
SITUATION IN DETAIL TO SECRETARY KISSINGER IN NOVEMBER AND
HE WAS SORRY THAT THERE HAD BEEN SO MUCH FOR THE WORSE
SINCE THAT CONVERSATION.

6. NAIM ASKED WHETHER I HAD ANY COMMENTS. I SAID THAT
AS MR. NAIM KNEW, UNITED STATES WAS A FRIEND OF BOTH
AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN AND THAT U.S. WAS HOPING THE TWO
COUNTRIES WOULD FIND A WAY TO RESUME A DIRECT, BILATERAL
DIALOGUE. I SAID U.S. REGRETTED RECENT
DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS, INTERRRUPTION
OF PLANNED TALKS, INCREASE IN LEVEL OF RHETORIC AND HOPED
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THAT WAYS WOULD BE FOUND TO REDUCE PROGAGANDA.

7. NAIM REITERATED THAT AFGHANISTAN WANTED BETTER
RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN.

8. I ASKED WHAT KIND OF INITIAL STEPS AFGHANS MIGHT UNDER-
TAKE WITH PAKISTAN TO GET DIALOGUE STARTED. NAIM SAID
AFGHANISTAN'S POSITION WAS CLEAR, "WHAT MORE DID PAKISTAN

WANT?" HE SAID IT WAS NOW UP TO PAKISTAN TO MAKE FIRST MOVE.

9. I STRESSED I WAS IN NO WAY ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY, AND UNDERLINED IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHED TO DIRECT CONTACT BUT I WONDERED WHAT MOVE GOP MIGHT TAKE WHICH WOULD CONVINCE AFGHANS THAT PAKISTAN WANTED RESUME DIALOGUE. AFTER UTTERING A NUMBER OF GENERALITIES, NAIM FINALLY SAID WHAT WAS REQUIRED WAS "A SUBSTANTIAL (NAIM'S STRESS) MOVE SUCH AS RELEASE OF THE NAP LEADERS AND BEGINNING TALKS WITH THOSE LEADERS TBFHARMONIZE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN." I COMMENTED I THOUGHT THAT THIS "SUBSTANTIAL MOVE" WAS QUALITATIVELY AND QUANTITATIVELY RATHER DIFFERENT FROM SENATOR PERCY'S IDEA OF AN AGREEMENT TO TONE DOWN RADIO BROADCASTS. NAIM SHOOK HIS HEAD SADLY AND SAID HE WAS SORRY ABOUT THE MISUNDERSTANDING WITH SENATOR PERCY BUT HOPED THE U.S. WOULD USE ITS GOOD OFFICES TO CONVINCE PAKISTAN THAT ALL AFGHANISTAN WANTS IS FOR "HARMONY" IN PAKISTAN AND THEN "THE PAKISTANIS WILL SEE HOW QUICKLY OUR RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE."

10. I TOLD MR. NAIM I WOULD REPORT HIS VIEWS TO THE DEPARTMENT.

11. COMMENT: NAIM WAS MUCH MORE STERN AND UNBENDING, MUCH LESS THE OPTIMIST THAN HE WAS DURING TALKS IN KABUL WITH AMBASSADORS ELIOT AND BYROADE LAST AUTUMN.

INCIDENTALLY, MR. NAIM DID NOT MENTION THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.

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